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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3304

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 6150

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR WORKING GROUP REPORT ON STABILIZING MEASURES

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

MBFR WORKING GROUP MET THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13 TO REVIEW FURTHER DRAFT (CIRCULATED EARLIER IN WEEK) OF ITS REPORT ON STABILIZING MEASURES TO THE SPC. TEXT CONTAINED MUCH CONTENTIOUS MATERIAL (LARGELY INTRODUCED BY UK AT EARLIER MEETINGS) WHICH MISSION FOUND OBJECTIONABLE. U.S. REP SUGGESTED THAT SINCE SPC HAD ALREADY AGREED DECEMBER 6 TO PUT FORWARD TITLES OF FOUR MEASURES WG PAPER WAS OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS AND SHOULD THEREFORE NOT BE PUT FORWARD. OTHER REPS STRONGLY DISAGREED. U.S. REP THEN INDICATED HE WOULD GO ALONG WITH MAJORITY, BUT THAT CURRENT DRAFT WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL REVISIONS AND DELETIONS. HE PROPOSED THAT WG CONVENE AS AN OFF-THE-RECORD DRAFTING GROUP TO HAMMER OUT DRAFT WHICH CORRESPONDED

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TO ORIGINAL MANDATE, WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT CURRENT STATE OF PLAY, BUT WOULD AVOID ANY DEBATE ON DETAILS OF MEASURES. THIS WAS DONE AND STAFF GROUP HAS NOW CIRCULATED (NATO WIDE TO CALL CAPITALS LESS U.S.) NEW DRAFT WHICH TAKES INTO

ACCOUNT OUR REQUIREMENTS. REPORT SHOULD BE SEEN AS SERVING AT THIS POINT INTERNAL INSTITUTIONAL NEEDS IN NATO AND AS SUCH DOES NOT APPEAR TO OFFER ANY DIFFICULTIES. IN ORDER TO DISPOSE OF IT WE PLAN TO ACCEPT NEW TEXT ON DECEMBER 20, UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED. TEXT FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT:

INTRODUCTION

1. AS REQUESTED BY THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE, THE MBFR WORKING GROUP HAVE EXAMINED, FROM THE TECHNICAL AND MILITARY POINTS OF VIEW, AND FOR FEASIBILITY, THE POSSIBLE STABILISING MEASURES PUT FORWARD FOR DISCUSSION IN THE GERMAN PAPER OF 7 NOVEMBER, THE UK PAPER OF 8 NOVEMBER AND THE US PAPER OF 12 NOVEMBER 1973. THE WORKING GROUP HAVE RESTRICTED THEIR EXAMINATION TO THE MEASURES LISTED IN THOSE PAPERS WHICH, IN THE CONTEXT OF AN MBFR AGREEMENT, ARE DESIGNED FOR APPLICATION TO THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO HUNGARY. THE MEASURES RELATE ONLY TO FORCES WITHIN THAT AREA AND TO ENTRY OF FORCES FROM OUTSIDE THAT AREA. THE WORKING GROUP EXAMINATION IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO WIDER APPLICATION OF STABILISING MEASURES WHICH MAY BE CONSIDERED IN ANY BROADER CONTEXT.

2. WE HAVE NOTED THAT THE COUNCIL HAS DIRECTED (DS2 OF 7 DEC 73) THAT CERTAIN OF THE MEASURES REVIEWED IN THIS PAPER SHOULD BE PRESENTED TO THE EASTERN POWERS IN VIENNA AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SORT OF STABILISING MEASURES WHICH THE ALLIES HAVE IN MIND. ALTHOUGH THE SPC SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE ORIGINALLY CONSIDERED THE APPLICATION OF THESE MEASURES IN A PRE-REDUCTION STAGE, THE ACTUAL
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TIMING OF THEIR ADOPTION WILL NOT BE SPECIFIED IN PRESENTING THEM TO THE EASTERN POWERS : THEY WILL NOT BE CHARACTERISED AS EITHER PRECEDING OR ACCOMPANYING REDUCTIONS (C-M(73)114(REVISED)). THE COUNCIL ALSO DIRECTED TWO GENERAL PROVISIONS:

A. THE OPTION REMAINS OPEN TO SUGGEST OTHER STABILISING MEASURES ACCOMPANYING REDUCTIONS.

B. IT WILL BE UNDERSTOOD THAT APPROPRIATE STABILISING MEASURES WILL BE INTEGRAL PARTS OF ANY REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT.
THE TIMING OF APPLICATION OF MEASURES UNDER EXAMINATION

(I.E. PRE-REDUCTION OR CONCURRENT WITH REDUCTIONS)
IS NOT CONSIDERED FURTHER IN THIS PAPER.

3. STABILISING MEASURES WILL NECESSARILY BE
RECIPROCAL, AND THEIR ADOPTION IMPLIES MUTUAL
ACCEPTANCE OF THE RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY THE
MEASURES. SUCH MEASURES ARE ONLY INTENDED FOR A
NORMAL PEACE TIME SITUATION AND THEY HAVE BEEN
EXAMINED ON THAT BASIS. IT IS ASSUMED THAT THEY
WOULD CEASE TO APPLY IN CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH
NATO, OR SACEUR WITHIN HIS DELEGATED AUTHORITY, IS
REQUIRED TO TAKE PRECAUTIONARY MILITARY MEASURES
TO MEET A POTENTIAL EMERGENCY.

WORKING GROUP TASK

4. THE URGENT TASK BEFORE THE WORKING GROUP
IS TO ADVISE WHETHER THE PROPOSALS ARE FEASIBLE
AND ACCEPTABLE IN MILITARY AND TECHNICAL TERMS
FOR ADOPTION BY THE ALLIANCE AS THE BASIS FOR
NEGOTIATING PROPOSALS TO BE MADE TO THE EAST ON
THIS ASPECT OF MBFR; AND WHETHER THEY ARE SUFFICIENTLY
DEFINITIVE TO ENABLE NEGOTIATIONS TO ELABORATE
THE VERY GENERAL REQUIREMENT MENTIONED IN THE
FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL AND TO RESPOND TO QUESTIONS
BY THE EAST AUTHORITATIVELY AND WITH SOME DEFINITION.
IN ADDRESSING THEMSELVES TO THE TASK OF RENDERING
JUDGEMENT ON THE MILITARY AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF
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THE MEASURES UNDER CONSIDERATION, THE WORKING GROUP
HAVE UNDERTAKEN THE FOLLOWING SET OF INTERRELATED
TASKS:

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A. TO ADVISE WHETHER THE PROPOSALS ARE
FEASIBLE AND ACCEPTABLE AS CONCEPTS IN MILITARY AND
TECHNICAL TERMS FOR ADOPTION BY THE ALLIANCE.

B. TO DETERMINE, AGAIN FROM A MILITARY AND
TECHNICAL STANDPOINT WHETHER THE MEASURES UNDER
REVIW SHOULD APPLY, IN THE FIRST PHASE OF MBFR AS
ENVISAGED BY THE ALLIES, TO US AND SOVIET FORCES ONLY,
OR ALSO TO OTHER FORCES IN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA.

C. TO EVALUATE WHETHER IT IS APPROPRIATE TO
CONSIDER AT THIS TIME THE IMPLICATIONS, AGAIN FROM
TECHNICAL AND MILITARY STANDPOINT, OF THE MEASURES
UNDER CONSIDERATION DURING A SECOND PAHSE OF MBFR.

THESE CONSIDERATIONS ARE INCORPORATED IN
THE JUDGEMENTS REACHED BY THE WORKING GROUP ON
INDIVIDUAL MEASURES AND APPEAR IN LATER PARAGRAPHS.

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CONSIDERATION OF PAPERS

THE UK PAPER

5. THE WORKING GROUP HAVE LITTLE TO SAY ON
THE UK PROPOSALS, COUCHED IN TREATY TERMS, FOR
PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS. THE MEASURES ARE SO
DEvised THAT THEY WOULD NOT INHIBIT ALLIED FREEDOMS
IN ANY WAY, INCLUDING FREEDOM TO EFFECT FORCE
IMPROVEMENTS. THEY ARE TECHNICALLY FEASIBLE.
THEIR MILITARY VALUE, IN RESTRAINING DESTABILISING
MOVMENT OR IN INCREASING WARNING TIME WOULD BE SMALL.

THE GERMAN PAPER OF 7 NOVEMBE 1973

6. THE WORKING GROUP NOTE AND ENDORSE THE
EMPHASIS IN THE GERMAN PAPER, SECTION II, THAT
STABILISING MEASURES SHOULD PRIMARILY AIM AT
COMPENSATING, AT LEAST PARTIALLY, THE SUPERIOR
REDEPLOYMENT CAPABILITES OF THE SOVIET UNION.
WE FURTHER ENDORSE THE CRITERIA FOR SUCH
STABILISING MEASURES SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH 7 OF

THE GERMAN PAPER, I.E. CONCENTRATION ON LAND FORCES; CONFORMITY WITH THE CONCEPT OF THE COMMON MANPOWER CEILING IN CENTRAL EUROPE; KEEPING OPEN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION OF FUTURE REDUCTION AGREEMENTS; AND NO NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELDS OF FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY.

7 THE WORKING GROUP COMMENT ON THE GERMAN PROPOSAL (AT PARAGRAPH 10 OF THE GERMAN PAPER) AS TO THE WORDING OF A STABILISING MEASURE, ADDRESSING LIMITATION OF EXERCISE ACTIVITY, IS INCLUDED AT PARAGRAPH 11 BELOW. OTHER SECTIONS OF THE GERMAN PAPER ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN CONSIDERATION OF OTHER PROPOSALS, TO THE EXTENT THAT THE GERMAN COMMENTS FALL INTO THE TECHNICAL AND MILITARY FIELDS.

THE US PAPER OF 12 NOVEMBER 1973
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8. THE WORKING GROUP HAVE APPROACHED THE SPECIFIC MEASURES LISTED AT PARAGRAPH 5A OF THE US PAPER OF 12 NOVEMBER, IN THE GENERAL BELIEF THAT A PRIMARY MILITARY AIM OF STABILISING MEASURES IS TO GIVE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF ENTRY INTO AND MOVEMENT WITHIN THE AREA AND TO IMPOSE AGREED LEGAL LIMITS TO THE MASSING OF SOVIET FORCES WITHIN THE AREA. THE MEASURES LISTED IN PARAGRAPH 5A (1) OF THE US PAPER CONFORM WITH THOSE IN C-M(73)83(FINAL) PARA 23 AND ARE GENERAL HEADINGS OR CONCEPTS ONLY. WE HAVE EXAMINED THEM IN THAT CONTEXT.

9. THE WORKING GROUP CONSIDER ALL THE FOUR MEASURES TO BE FEASIBLE TECHNICALLY AS BROAD CONCEPTS ALTHOUGH SOME MAY BE ADMINISTRATIVELY BURDENSOME. WE CONSIDER HOWEVER THAT A DETAILED ASSESSMENT OF THE ANNEX TO THE US PAPER SHOULD BE MADE AND THAT RECOMMENDATIONS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO OVERCOME ANY ADVERSE IMPLICATIONS. SHAPE HAVE UNDERTAKEN THE INITIAL STUDY.

10. WITH RESPECT TO THE TASK AT PARA 4 B ABOVE THE WORKING GROUP SEE ADVANTAGE, RELATIVE TO A SITUATION IN WHICH THERE WOULD BE NO STABILISING MEASURES, IN APPLYING THE MEASURES LISTED TO THE US/USSR FORCES IN THE FIRST PHASE, PROVIDED THAT THEIR ACCEPTANCE IN PHASE ONE DOES NOT IMPLY A COMMITMENT FOR PHASE TWO. ON THE MATTER OF THE WIDER APPLICATION OF THE MEASURES THE WORKING GROUP FIND THAT THE MILITARY IMPLICATIONS ARE NOT COMPELLING EITHER FOR OR AGAINST RESTRICTION OF THE MEASURES TO US/USSR

FORCES NOR FOR OR AGAINST EXTENSION OF THE MEASURES
TO OTHER NATIONS.

OTHER POSSIBLE MEASURES

11. THE PROPOSED GERMAN MEASURE, INTRODUCED
AS A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE LIMITATIONS ON
EXERCISES DISCUSSED IN THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPH,
READS:

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"THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, UNDERTAKE NOT TO
INCREASE THE NUMBER AND SCOPE OF THE EXERCISE
ACTIVITIES OF THEIR LAND FORCES WHILE THE MBFR
NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN PROGRESS".
THE WORKING GROUP SEE NO TECHNICAL NOR MILITARY
OBJECTION TO THIS PROPOSAL, PROVIDED THAT THE
EXERCISE PROGRAMME IS REGARDED AS A CYCLE COVERING
SEVERAL YEARS, TO TAKE CARE OF THE POINT THAT THE
LARGEST NATO LAND FORCE EXERCISES ARE MOUNTED AT
LESS FREQUENT INTERVALS THAN ONCE A YEAR

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12. TWO OTHER MEASURES, TAKEN FROM
CM(73)83(FINAL) PARA 29, ARE DISCUSSED IN THE
US PAPER. THE WORKING GROUP NOTES THAT THESE ARE

APPLICABLE TO THE US/USSR ONLY AND FIND THAT THEIR APPLICATION WOULD CAUSE NEITHER MILITARY NOR TECHNICAL DIFFICULTY.

APPLICATION TO SECOND PHASE

13. WITH REGARD TO THE TASK AT 4 C ABOVE, THE WORKING GROUP CONSIDER IT WOULD BE PREMATURE NOW TO CONSIDER THE APPLICATION OF THE MEASURES TO THE SECOND PHASE. THIS SHOULD WAIT UNTIL MORE IS KNOWN OF THE SHAPE OF THE REDUCTIONS AND OF THE REMAINING FORCES.

SUMMARY

14. IN SUMMARY THE WORKING GROUP, HAVING
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EXAMINED THE MEASURES LISTED AS CONCEPTS FOR APPLICATION IN THE FIRST PHASE OF MBFR AS ENVISAGED BY THE ALLIES,

A. CONSIDER THAT APPLICATION OF THE FOUR MEASURES LISTED IN CM(73)83, TO US/USSR FORCES ONLY IS MILITARILY AND TECHNICALLY FEASIBLE.

B. CONSIDER THAT THERE ARE NO COMPELLING MILITARY OR TECHNICAL REASONS EITHER FOR OR AGAINST THE WIDER APPLICATION OF THESE SAME MEASURES TO OTHER NATIONS.

C. CONSIDER THAT IT IS PREMATURE TO CONSIDER THE APPLICATION OF STABILISING MEASURES TO A SECOND PHASE OF REDUCTIONS.

D. STRESS THAT THE ACCEPTANCE OF THESE MEASURES IN PRINCIPLE DOES NOT MEAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE TECHNICAL DETAIL IN THE ANNEX TO THE US PAPER OF 12 NOVEMBER 1973 AND THAT THE DETAIL OF THE MEASURES IS BEING STUDIED FURTHER, END TEXT. RUMSFELD

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